

292 were shorter than those made of semit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of semit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued
763 today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are
178 the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Semit malo
C8:46 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use
for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the
life of an only male child, the semit malo that the child would inherit was
hung from the house tiebame as if its highly charged sentimental value
might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pakapukane are
283 different from those of ancient Pakapukane and that therefore the art of
197 making the very tight five-ply braid of the semit malo has been lost. But,
178 as both males might be dressed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
them.

285 The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men
292 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it
seems that it is plaited of fine strips of his pandanus material. Three or
four elements were plaited as a single element (*longa tolu* or *longa wa*).

825 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The
787 neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
fringed with strips of his, and the garment was fastened with strings of
malo cord (*wotali malo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms,
another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated
with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial
occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of
plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to
teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the
antiquity of the garment:

539
Walekawa ki to la kupenga
Tupetupa a Yiva agnoti
Yonga ena walekawa.

Clashed in the *la kupenga*
Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
certainly,
Smelled its fringe.

291 Informants said that a Palapuan man returned from the land of Yiva where the
179 art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga*
when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the
garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign
people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pakapuka
from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out
rapidly when the Palapuan acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape
(*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

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the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*pala*) was marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the feet; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*rafo*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the feet; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a single headstone and a footstone. Burials of these undistinguished people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Then over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, is a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are unframed coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to a foot wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

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Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills or particularities of the deceased:

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Yet, for instance, facts that formerly it was common to use hard *hampapa* coral (calcium carbonate for a man's gravestone, softer *papa* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that skulls of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, To Aga, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2, B). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*rao*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. *Paa* made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempts to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for variously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by seven stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headstone.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*uata lankinkina*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it was formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolism might be attached.

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A number of separate graves on the stall provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior *Taupulu*, on the boundary between Yato and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

613 through marriage or adoption several generations back. Feeling is that the
613 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.
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Ngale genealogies of the chiefs of Mulivutu and Matanga lineages were
613 given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to
613 the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put
up on behalf of the Ngale claimants.

613 The transition to title in these Ngale genealogies follows the same general rules
as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed
him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief
of Ngale affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given
for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he
became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title
with him to Loto, as the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-
lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the
son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngale. This the son did, and when
the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and his continued down this
paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of
chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim
to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-
lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
613 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:

613 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headgear
and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the
613 sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests
and other chiefs of the lineage, all dressed in the appropriate costume of their own
613 posts. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure
and up to the sacred stone (umu). The chief crouched or rested on a stone mat (hete)
placed in front of the sacred stone. He had a woman laid down (lahel) to the
613 sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and
prosperous reign, for men, wife, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people
and for their vigorous old age, unmarred by grey hairs on their heads. The god there-
613 upon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate
sign was for the fish of the chief to break out in great fish. A collective state lead-
ing to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After
the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the
613 enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward
and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the
induction proper, and thereafter the chief was a tape person, taking no part in sports
or domestic activities.

A Distribution (lahela) of mats took place immediately after the induc-
tion, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew
they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the
chief of Mulivutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the
other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

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day (one or two pale or albacore would be sufficient) the boys returned to the village and took the fish to the old men, who divided them primarily among themselves and secondarily among the people of the island if the catch was large. Reef fish, rock fish, and other non-deep-sea fish caught by the *tanganga* were kept by the boys for their own food. The old men gave some of the talo they received each day in the form of gifts and contributions from the old men's households to the *tanganga* boys to eat on their fishing expeditions. It was this food which the graduated girls helped the women of their households to prepare. After returning from fishing, the boys were free from formal duties for the rest of the day.

SECLUSION

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Some time after a group of boys and girls had attained adulthood a paternal lineage (*po*) might decide to hold a *kaitou* *tokesynai*, an institutionalized seclusion period intended to fatten their bodies, whiten their skin, and so make good marriages for the children of the *po*:

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Any number of boys and girls, generally from one to six from a lineage, might be selected. There were separate houses of seclusion (*wale kaitou*) for each sex. The *wale kaitou* (any house chosen for the purpose) was made quite dark by covering the walls (*tuigui* *tu wale*) with several layers of overlapping wall sheets and mats. The floor was first covered with mats, then with *palaka* and *lau ketoua* fern leaves over which coconut oil was liberally spread. The secluded children were made to lie on the leaves, their bodies and heads completely covered with mats. They might eat, lie, or sleep in any position provided they kept well covered. They were given especially fattening foods in large quantities. The food for the following day was pushed into the house at night under the lowest wall sheet so that no light might leak in. Two male relatives guarded the boys' house, and two female relatives the girls' house. The guards (*kaute*) remained continuously outside the house to see that no prowlers entered. Accompanied by a guard, the children, covered tightly with mats bound with semit, left the house at night to evacuate. The bench they went to was referred to as the *wale wale*, which was also the special term for defecating used only in reference to *kaitou* children. The guards made sure the children did not stray abroad but returned to the house immediately. The young people were kept thus in seclusion for one moon.

When the house was opened up, the children, fat and fair, were taken to the beach to bathe. After being inspected by the members of the paternal lineage, each girl was dressed in two kilts, each boy in a new malo. Decked with pearl-shell and flower ornaments, they were paraded through the village for all to admire. All the people came to see their beauty, expressing admiration in such terms as, "How beautiful, how fat, how fair", and wondering what men or women would be lucky enough to get such husbands and wives. Only a man who was a good fisherman and rich in nuts and talo could hope to get a fat, fair wife, and only a fat woman would be able to get a *kaitou* husband. The parade over, the girls returned to normal life with the expectation of making a desirable marriage. For the boys there was often a further ceremony (*kaitou* *kupipoko*):

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riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine hui wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

PERSONAL CHOICE OF MATE

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Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Vetu regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

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The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *timea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakabume*.

WEDDING

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Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

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When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamaloma*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakaoonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

584
A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, mats, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

521 to be *meta kirikiri* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the
609 occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white
626 people.

152 Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable,
578 rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *meta kirikiri*. Such a person is furious with
626 children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *masasa poto* or *ngaku kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

152 Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions.
576 Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *uakolalakaka*; one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *uakolalakaka*. This word is distinguished from the words *uitaki*, *uinaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *uitaki*; a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *uitaki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *uakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *uakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *uakamitamita*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *uakamitamita*.

152 Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *longa habionga*; a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko*; a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *uimoi*; a person who is greedy for food is *hopsa yae*; a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau*; a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *hai yae*; one who steals food is *toyenyeu*; one who is generous at giving away food is *haikai malie*.

732 One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valeitike*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

128 Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma*: a crippled person has a *luma*; a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

152 The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *tohu vae* (my enemy or my hated person), *tohu mima* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, tohu vae, ko ko" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *vae vae* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *vai mima*. A person who is equally tempered, suffering no enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye vae vae* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye mima* (one who does not select people).

757 tion: the patient eats only *mas*, pandanus fruit, and bananas; *talo* is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is eaten as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked *talo* mixed with drinking-mat liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of male or coconut round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *soua* plant and tied with coconut. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-mat water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lalo* cream and drinking-mat liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*meli agungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *tacyius* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *tacyius* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lue*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ouge mee*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

145 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*agee eye*) are believed to result if a child loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke sie*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

145 Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

575 Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on
302 awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so
[572] applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takelo*) in the sea
until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When
bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman
did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a
spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men
and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken
after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly
rhyms applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make
the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special
occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for
everyday use.

Delousing (*tukulu na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for
another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*)
are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore
their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut
short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls
today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice
and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ala yina*) are sometimes pulled out of
a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wutu na yina*.

302 Body hair (*ouluwulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was con-
sidered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed
826 the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvulu*, to scrape) with a knife of
832 the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvulu*) with a razor
once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tanetane*) on the skin resulting from *timea* infection
were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain
many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of
the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

514 Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276).
Adults, like children, urinate (*mini*) anywhere outside the house. Adults
evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

[527] the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

626 At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*usheyana*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau tulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

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[534] The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*conenga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ilina; pelua to malo, tai ake to uia, yale ake li to one i te konga o men" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *agangle* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua heue*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pahipahi te lemu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

Field Notes: Pakapukan Dictionary

192. I. Physiological processes and parts of body named by in-
826 formant Pau:

abdomen	manava
adam's apple	kopu
amniotic bag	iko or kawu
amniotic fluid	lanupa
ankle	ponaponavae
anus	pu lemu or kanokano
armpit	keke
belch	wakamapui
bladder	lau matangi
brains	pe ulu as in the phrase "Ka ni o pe ulu la?" Have you no brains?
breast	wu
breast, upper part of	tua wu
breast, lower part of	alonga wu
breast, space between	va wu
breath	so
bruise	weweu
buttocks	tua muli
calf of leg	kiko kau lili kinga or puku vae
cervix	wiwi
cheek	kaponga
chest	vakavaka or uma
chin	kauvae
chin, double	kolekolo
clitoris	yoko or talakelake
choke (on bone)	laea
colon	taipili
congestion (windpipe)	kakikapi
crowsfeet	ala mata
detumescence	toka
ear	talinga
erection of penis	makan to ula, or talanga
erection of clitoris	makan te yoko
eruption (skin)	kili mawune
eruption (tongue)	a
eye	mata
eyeball	ua mata
eye, iris	mouli or kano mata
eye, white of	kenu mata

192 eye, pouch below

526 eye, pupil

face

faint

fallopian tubes

fat (body)

fetus

finger

finger, thumb

finger, index

finger, middle

finger, ring

finger, little

flatulence

flesh

foot

foot, sole of

foot, ball of

foot, arch of

foot, instep of

foot, heel of

forehead

foreskin

freckles

gall bladder

glans penis

halitosis

hand

hand, palm of

hand, back of

heart

hiccough

hymen

internal organs

intestine, small

kidney

knee

labia majora

labia minora

larynx

leg

lip, upper

lip, lower

liver

kahu

uli mata

mata, tupu, or ongaonga

ikotu

wakaki tinga (hurts when full)?

ngako

wita

mangamanga lima

mangamanga lima matua

mangmanga lima loa

mangamanga lotu

mangamanga tolewu

mangamanga lewu

tacyu

kiko

papa vae

kili vae

kili multvae

kili vokoanga vae

tua vae

malimuli vae

lae

kili ule

yilayila

sa

wakatala ule

ngengele

lima

alonga papa lima

taa papa lima

watu manava

tokamauli

kili papani te pu

ngakau

mangalongalo

kiko tua

talivae

lau ngutuwa

ngutuwa lau

manga lau kopa

vae

lau ngutu ki lunga

lau ngutu ki lalo

ato

192 lung

126 lung, inspiration of
lung, respiration of
membranes

milk of breast

mole

mons veneris

mucus from the nose

nail, finger or toe

nape of neck

nape of neck, fat below

navel

navel cord

nipple of breast

nose

nostril

oesophagus

os uterus

ovary

palate

penis

penis, slack

placenta

pubic hair

pulse, fast

pulse, slow

secretions, female

semen

skin

skin, wrinkles on

spittle or saliva

sputum

stomach

stomach, rumblings of

tears

temple

testicles

testicle gland

thigh

throat

toe

toe, big

toe, second

toe, third

mama

mimiti

pupuyi

kalava

wu

mea tapuni

pali

pe iyu

matitika or maititiku

ua or ngati

tupanaka

pito

pito

mata wu

iyu

pangaponga iyu

e ala no te ngakau matua

puwiwi

mape

tue ngutu

ule, kavi or uiwi

ule mata, or ule malulu

wenna

kava

koa vivili te uaua

koa panapana te uaua

vale or lenga

sene or kamonga

kili

ala kili

yuvale

valinga kau

ngakau matua

ngalus

yua mata or loi mata

lawilawinga

layo

wua moko

tenga

kolokolo

mangamanga vae

mangamanga vae matua

mangamanga vae loa

mangamanga vae loto

192 toe, fourth

826 toe, little

toe, ball of

toes, space between

tongue

tonsils

urethra, male

urethra, female

uterus

vulva

vagina

waist

wind pipe

mangamanga vae tolewu

mangamanga vae lewu

kili mangamanga vae

va mangamanga vae

alelo

wolo manga (big yawn?)

yekenga mimi

pu mimi

moenga tamaliki

pakiko

wu or tole

taukupu

kaki

II. Names for various bones of the body recognized by informant Pan:

bones in each toe

metatarsal bones of foot

os calcis

fibula

tibia

patella

femur

ilium

thigh bone

pelvis

backbone, spine

caudal bone

vertebrae

ribs, floating or lower

ribs, upper

ribs, upper top section

ribs, upper middle section

ribs, lower section

sternum

clavicle

scapula

humerus

ulna

radius

elbow joint

wrist joint

metacarpal bones

ivi mangamanga vae

ivi likiliki wononga

ivi mulimuli vae

ivi ulu manu

ivi ulu matua

ivi pupuni tulivae

ivi tenga

ivi pulapula

ivi tenga

ivi pali

ivi papatua

ivi mulimuli or pulapula

wononga ivi papatua

ivi manumu

ivi vakavaka

ivi vakavaka ki lunga

ivi vakavaka ki lolotonu

ivi vakavaka ki lalo

ivi matua no te vakavaka

ivi pokoivi

pokoivi

ivi pokolima

ivi ulu manu o te lima

ivi wolo o te lima

ivi tuka lima

ivi wononga taulu lima

ivi papa lima

192 826	zygomatic process in verti- brae	ivi kaykayo
	neck vertebrae	ivi ua
	atlas vertebra	ivi muli ulu
	crown of skull	papa ulu
	occipital region of skull	muli ulu
	parietal region of skull	tau muli ulu
	region about coronal suture	puyo ulu
	sutures in skull	ngutu papa ulu
	frontal bone	lae
	frontal bone, upper section	tua lae
	frontal bone, forehead	muamua lae
	frontal-temporal ridges	tipt lae
	frontal ridge (on which glabella located)	ivi va mata
	nasion	ivi manunu iyu
	temple bones	tua mata
	supra-orbital ridges	ivi kokotinga mata
	outermost section of eye socket	ivi yikunga mata
	zygomatic arch	ivi tua kaponga
	mastoid process	ivi tua talinga
	nasal bone	ivi iyu
	styloid process	ivi kaponga
	lower mandible	ivi kauvae lalo
	upper mandible	ivi kauvae lunga
	hyal process	ivi alonga kauvae
	muscle	yakali or uaua, described in terms of the various bones with which they articulate
	artery, gland, vein	Uaua toto or uaua matua, de- scribed according to the part of the body. Uaua toto is the precise name for an artery or vein. Uaua matua is the pre- cise term for a lymphatic gland. It is believed that the lymphatic glands are filled with a type of water and not with blood.
	tendon	ivi tano wemonga

192 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:
 836

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lololomu
bicuspid	te ngao oysuga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:
 833

833 sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimull to rub organs
	is miltmili

192 IV. Types of sleep:
 513

liebing or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapiipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu